

## Message Text

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ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 CIAE-00 PM-05 INR-10 L-03 ACDA-12  
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SECDEF WASHDC  
INFO AMEMBASSY ANKARA  
AMEMBASSY LISBON  
CINCLANT NORFOLK VA  
USLOSACLANT NORFOLK VA  
USNMR SHAPE BE  
USCINCEUR VAIHINGEN GER

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 01 OF 02 USNATO 04938

E.O. 11652: GDS  
TAGS: MPOL, NATO, PO, TU  
SUBJECT: THE AD HOC GROUP ON MILITARY ASSISTANCE TO  
PORTUGAL (AND TURKEY): THE NEXT STEP

REFS: (A) USNATO 4401 (DTG 291344Z APR 78),  
(B) STATE 106131 (DTG 260128Z APR 78), (C) USNATO 3508  
(DTG 061646Z APR 78)

SUMMARY: IN THIS MESSAGE WE TAKE STOCK OF THE ALLIES'  
RATHER LIMITED PERFORMANCE IN PROVIDING AID TO THE  
PORTUGUESE MILITARY, ASSESS THE SLIM POSSIBILITY OF  
ESTABLISHING COMMON FUNDING APPROACH, AND CONCLUDE THAT  
NATO'S MULTILATERAL EFFORTS RISK BECOMING INCREASINGLY  
DISAPPOINTING TO THE GOP AND COUNTER-PRODUCTIVE TO OUR  
POLITICAL OBJECTIVES. WE REQUEST WASHINGTON GUIDANCE ON  
THE FEASIBILITY OF US PARTICIPATION IN COMMON FUNDING  
AND SUGGEST THAT THE MISSION INFORMALLY SOUND OUT ALLIES'  
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VIEWS BEFORE ANOTHER FORMAL MEETING OF THE AD HOC  
COMMITTEE IS CONVENED. ACTION REQUESTED: WASHINGTON  
GUIDANCE. END SUMMARY.

1. WE AGREE WITH ASYG MUMFORD (REF A) THAT THE CURRENT  
ALLIANCE APPROACH TO PROVIDING MILITARY ASSISTANCE TO  
PORTUGAL DOES NOT HOLD MUCH PROMISE FOR THE FUTURE.

EXCEPT FOR THE FRG, THE PERFORMANCE OF OUR ALLIES HAS BEEN LESS THAN INSPIRING AND IS LIKELY TO BECOME LESS SO AS THE AD HOC COMMITTEE MOVES TO CONSIDER THE MORE EXPENSIVE END-ITEM REQUIREMENTS OF THE PORTUGUESE AIR FORCE AND NAVY. WE BELIEVE, THEREFORE, THAT IT IS TIME FOR WASHINGTON TO TAKE STOCK OF THE SITUATION WITH A VIEW TO DETERMINING:

. - WHETHER A NEW APPROACH IS FEASIBLE AND LIKELY TO PRODUCE BETTER RESULTS?

. - WHETHER NATO'S MULTILATERAL EFFORT HAS ABOUT RUN ITS COURSE AND RISKS BECOMING A PSYCHOLOGICAL LIABILITY IN ALLIANCE DEALINGS WITH PORTUGAL?

2. CURRENT SITUATION. THOUGH THE ALLIES HAVE BEEN SYMPATHETIC TO THE DESIRABILITY OF HELPING PORTUGAL SHORE UP A SHAKEY DOMESTIC SITUATION, THEY HAVE TENDED TO TRANSLATE THIS MORE INTO ECONOMIC THAN MILITARY TERMS, EXCEPT FOR SOME ESSENTIALLY SYMBOLIC MILITARY OFFERINGS. THIS REFLECTS THEIR INDIVIDUAL ASSESSMENTS AS TO:

. -- THE EFFICACY OF MILITARY AID AS A POLITICAL TOOL;

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. -- THE IMPORTANCE OF OTHER IMPERATIVES COMPETING FOR SCARCE NATIONAL RESOURCES; AND

. -- THE MARGINAL POTENTIAL CONTRIBUTION OF PORTUGUESE FORCES IN NATO.

IN SPITE OF THESE AMBIVALENT ATTITUDES, THE ALLIES HAVE, IN AN EFFORT AT SOLIDARITY, PROVIDED AN ASSORTMENT OF USEABLE THOUGH OBSOLESCEMENT EQUIPMENT FOR THE BRIGADE FROM THEIR EXISTING INVENTORIES. THOUGH THIS PROCESS OF RUMMAGING THROUGH INVENTORIES PROVIDED AT LEAST SOME BASIS FOR MARGINAL ALLIED PARTICIPATION IN HELPING THE BRIGADE, WE SEE LITTLE LIKELIHOOD OF IT TURNING UP MUCH FOR THE AIR FORCE AND NAVY.

3. PORTUGUESE AIR FORCE AND NAVY. ALTHOUGH STRONG PRODDING BY DSYG PETRIGNANI MAY ASSIST IN GETTING ADDITIONAL EQUIPMENT FOR THE BRIGADE, AS SUGGESTED (REF B), THERE IS LITTLE IN ALLIED AIR FORCE INVENTORIES LIKELY TO BECOME AVAILABLE THAT WOULD BE OF MUCH UTILITY TO THE PORTUGUESE. THE F-104'S SCHEDULED FOR PHASE OUT (REF C)

WOULD PROBABLY OVER-TAX PORTUGUESE CAPABILITIES, AND, AS  
IN THE CASE OF ADDITIONAL G-91'S WOULD NOT BE WELCOMED.  
MARGINAL OFFERS OF TRAINING ASSISTANCE AND A SPARE  
STARTER STAND OR RUNWAY LIGHT ARE MORE PLAUSIBLE FROM  
ALLIED SOURCES, BUT ARE NOT LIKELY TO CAUSE MUCH OF A  
RESPONSIVE STIR AMONG THE PORTUGUESE. ALLIED NAVY  
INVENTORIES ARE LIKELY TO PRODUCE EVEN LESS. CONSE-  
QUENTLY, WE DOUBT THE PRESENT ALLIED APPROACH OF SCREEN-  
ING OBSOLESCENT INVENTORIES WILL MEET REMAINING  
PORTUGUESE NEEDS. THE QUESTION OF WHETHER SOME OTHER,

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 02 OF 02 USNATO 04938

MORE PROMISING, WAY TO PROVIDE MULTILATERAL EXTERNAL  
MILITARY ASSISTANCE CAN BE FOUND HAS ALREADY BEEN  
BROACHED IN THE DRC GENERAL REPORT ON FORCE GOALS AND IN  
DPC DISCUSSIONS.

4. A NEW APPROACH. THE "NEW" APPROACH THAT MUMFORD HAS  
IN MIND (REF A) IS TO ESTABLISH A COMMON FUND FROM CASH  
CONTRIBUTIONS BY ALLIES. EVEN THOUGH COMMON FUNDING WAS  
USED PREVIOUSLY IN SPECIAL CASES SUCH AS MALTA, WE  
SUSPECT THAT ALLIES ARE LIKELY TO SHY AWAY FROM SUCH A  
NOTION, BECAUSE OF THE PRECEDENT AND OPEN-ENDED IMPLI-  
CATIONS OF SUCH AN EFFORT (NEEDS OF OTHER ALLIES SUCH AS  
TURKEY AND THE DUTCH IN THE CASE OF THEIR BRIGADE),  
AND PARTLY BECAUSE THE PORTUGUESE WOULD PROBABLY WANT

TO USE THE FUNDS FOR SHIPBUILDING IN PORTUGUESE YARDS.  
NEVERTHELESS, WE CANNOT RULE OUT COMPLETELY THE POSSIBILITY OF THE IDEA GATHERING SOME ALLIANCE SUPPORT IF THE US IS WILLING TO CONTRIBUTE AND PUSH OTHERS HARD.  
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REGARDLESS OF HOW IT IS INITIATED, IF THE COMMON FUNDING CONCEPT GETS OFF THE GROUND, THE ALLIES WOULD CERTAINLY LOOK TO THE US TO BECOME A FULL PARTICIPANT. WE ASSUME SUCH AN APPROACH WOULD POSE SERIOUS LEGISLATIVE/LEGAL PROBLEMS FOR WASHINGTON.

5. CONCLUSIONS. IN OUR VIEW:

. - THERE IS LITTLE LIKELIHOOD OF THE PRESENT INVENTORY APPROACH TURNING UP MUCH OF VALUE FOR THE PORTUGUESE AIR FORCE OR NAVY.

. - THE MARGINAL RETURNS COMING OUT OF THE AD HOC COMMITTEE ARE LIKELY TO BECOME AN INCREASING DISAPPOINTMENT TO THE GOP AND COUNTER-PRODUCTIVE TO OUR GOAL OF DEMONSTRATING THAT THE ALLIANCE REALLY CARES.

. - IN VIEW OF THE COMPETING DEMANDS FOR ALREADY SCARCE NATIONAL FINANCIAL RESOURCES, A NEW APPROACH OF COMMON FUNDING FOR EXTERNAL MILITARY ASSISTANCE IS LIKELY TO BE VIEWED WITH SCEPTICISM EVEN IF THE US IS PREPARED TO JOIN AND PUSH HARD ON SUCH AN EFFORT.

. - WHATEVER WE MANAGE TO DO FOR PORTUGAL WILL HAVE AN IMMEDIATE IMPACT ON TURKISH EXPECTATIONS, WHERE THE MAGNITUDE OF REQUIREMENTS IS EVEN GREATER AND WHERE SOLUTIONS ARE MORE DIFFICULT TO FIND AND IMPLEMENT.

6. IN LIGHT OF THE ABOVE, WE RECOMMEND THAT:

. - (A) WASHINGTON PROVIDE PROMPT GUIDANCE ON THE FEASIBILITY OF US PARTICIPATION IN A COMMON FUNDING APPROACH (BEFORE THIS IDEA IS FORMALLY TABLED IN THE AHC).  
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. - (B) WHEN THE GUIDANCE IS IN HAND -- OR BEFORE, IF WASHINGTON PREFERS -- WE PROPOSE TO MUMFORD THAT HE CONVENE AN INFORMAL MEETING OF THE AD HOC COMMITTEE WITHOUT PORTUGAL AND TURKEY TO TAKE INITIAL READINGS ON

THE FEASIBILITY OF FURTHER ALLIED EXPLOITATION OF THE  
INVENTORY ASSISTANCE APPROACH AND CURRENT VIEWS ON USING  
COMMON FUNDING PROCEDURES AS AN ALTERNATIVE.

DEPENDING ON RESULTS OF A AND B ABOVE WE WILL PROVIDE  
MORE SPECIFIC RECOMMENDATIONS ON NEXT STEPS. WE WOULD  
WELCOME THE VIEWS OF EMBASSY LISBON AND ANKARA. BENNETT

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